

## Message Text

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USMISSION NATO

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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 3156

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, XF

SUBJ: SQUARING THE CIRCLE: WESTERN (AND MORE SOUTHERN) EUROPEANS  
AT THE CPSU CONGRESS

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REF: LISBON 1291, MOSCOW 3083, MOSCOW 3071

1. SUMMARY. PRAVDA FEBRUARY 29 FRONT-PAGES REPORT ON FEB 28 MEETING OF BREZHNEV, SUSLOV AND PONOMAREV WITH CUNHAL, AND MARCH 1 TICKER HAS JUST REPORTED SIMILAR MEETING WITH BERLINGUER. IN INTERVENING DAYS, FRENCH AND SPANISH CP REPS (IN ABSENCE OF SECRETARIES GENERAL) HAVE MORE OR LESSS CONTINUED "AUTONOMIST" LINE OF SOUTHERN EUROPEANS BROACHED BY CEAUSESCU, DOLANC AND BERLINGUER (MOSCOW 3083), AND MIXED BAG OF SPEECHES BY CHAIRMEN OF SMALLER WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES AT VARIOUS PARTY ORGANIZATION MEETINS HAS FAILED TO RIGHT THE BALANCE IN FAVOR OF FIDELITY AND MORE CONGENIAL STANCES ON MAOISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM. DIVERSITY OF VIEWS IS THEREFORE AS STRIKING OUTSIDE "SOCIALIST CAMP" AS WITHIN IT (MOSCOW 3083). AT THIS EARLY JUNCTURE, WE NOTE ONLY THAT CONGRESS MAY WELL MAKE ROAD TO EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE ROCKIER RATHER THAN SMOOTHER, AND THAT IT WOULD NOT BE SURPRISING TO SEE SOVIETS SEEK ROLE OF HONEST BROKER WITHIN MOVEMENT, TO REPLACE THEIR VANISHED SUPREMACY. SINCE THERE IS NO NECESSARY LINK BETWEEN PARTY "INDEPENDENCE" AND PARTY "LIBERALISM," THE SOVIETS HAVE A WIDE FIELD FOR MANEUVER, IF THEY WISH TO ENTER IT. END SUMMARY.

2. PRAVDA FEBRUARY 29 CARRIES FRONT-PAGE REPORT OF CUNHAL'S MEETING PREVIOUS DAY WITH BREZHNEV, SUSLOV AND PONOMAREV, PRINTED AROUND A LARGE, ICONOGRAPHIC PICTURE OF THE FOUR STIFF BUT RESOLUTE OLD MEN. MARCH 1 PRAVDA CARRIES LONG MESSAGE TO SOVIET CONGRESS FROM PCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE (AMONG SIMILAR GREETINGS FROM CHILEAN, SOUTH VIETNAMESE AND WEST BERLIN LEADERSHIPS) WHICH PICKS UP MOST OF POINTS AND SOME LANGUAGE OF CUNHAL'S FEBRUARY 26 SPEECH (AS PRINTED IN PRAVDA FEBRUARY 27).

3. SPEECH (AND LETTER) DO NOT APPEAR TO MAKE NEW DEPARTURES ON SUBSTANCE OF PROTUGUESE ISSUES, AS LISBON'S 1291 POINTS OUT, AND REPORT OF MEETING GOES ONLY A LITTLE FARTHER, BY RESTATING HIGHEST-LEVEL SOVIET SUPPORT FOR PCP AND, AT LEAST BY IMPLICATION, FOR CUNHAL PERSONALLY. BREZHNEV "NOTED" THAT THERE IS "UNFLAGGING ATTENTION" FOR PORTUGUESE EVENTS IN THE USSR; SOVIETS "EXPRESS DEEP SYMPATHY AND CONFIDENTIAL

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FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY WITH PROTUGUESE CP AND PORTUGAL'S DEMOCRATS;" THE USSR IS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL TIES "ON BASIS AND IN SPIRIT OF UNDERSTANDING ACHIEVED DURING VISIT" OF COSTA GOMES, AND AGAINST OUTSIDE INTERVENTION; AND LEADERSHIPS WANT TO STRENGTHEN "UNSHAKEABLE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE PARTIES BASED ON TEACHING OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM." IN TERMS OF PROTUGAL ALONE, FLURRY OF PAPER THUS

PUTS CONTINUING SOVIET CONCERN OVER DANGER OF FASCISM  
(AND DANGER TO PCP) ON RECORD AGAIN

4. IN TERMS OF LARGER ISSUES FACING SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS AND THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT, HOWEVER, SPECTACULAR SYMBOLIC TREATMENT OF CUNHAL ALSO SERVES TO COUNTERACT TOUGH TALK FROM CEAUSESCU, WHO FOLLOWED CUNHAL TO PODIUM FEBRUARY 26, AND FROM DOLANC AND BERLINGUER, WHOSE SPEECHES (MOSCOW 3083) APPEARED IN PRAVDA THE DAY OF BREZHNEV-CUNHAL MEETING. IN THESE TERMS, KEY SYMBOLIC ISSUES ARE "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CHINESE, AND PCP'S EXEMPLARY FIDELITY ON BOTH MAY BE IMPORTANT TO SOVIETS AT THIS JUNCTURE, JUST AS SOVIET SUPPORT IS TO CUNHAL. CUNHAL'S SPEECH, PCP CC LETTER AND REPORT OF MEETING WITH BREZHNEV WERE HEAVY ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, AND CUNHAL ATTACKED MAOISTS IN HIS SPEECH (ALTHOUGH THEY ARE ABSENT FROM CC LETTER).

5. IN THESE TERMS, WEST EUROPEANS WHO HAVE FOLLOWED BERLINGUER HAVE BEEN A MIXED AND NOT VERY SATISFYING BAG FOR THE SOVIETS. PCF CC SECRETARY GASTON PLISSONNIER AND PCE CHAIRMAN DOLORES IBARRURI SPOKE TO THE CONGRESS FEB. 28 (IN THE ABSENCE OF PARTY SECRETARIES GENERAL MARCHAIS AND SANTIAGO CARRILLO), AND A SUCCESSION OF LESSER LIGHTS HAVE BEEN LIT AT PARTY MEETINGS AROUND MOSCOW (AND PRINTED IN PRAVDA FEB 29 AND MAR 1): CP CHAIRMAN MUHRI (AUSTRIA), VAN GEYT (BELGIUM), FLORAKIS (GREECE), DANIELIUS (WEST BERLIN SED), KNUTSEN (NORWAY), AND WERNER (SWEDISH LEFT COMMUNISTS).

6. PLISSONNIER'S STATEMENT DIFFERED FROM BERLINGUER'S IN A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT WAYS. IT DID NOT SUPPORT FRANCE'S NATO COMMITMENT; INDEED, IT CRITICIZED THE GISCARD  
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GOVERNMENT FOR "IN FACT" RETURNING FRANCE TO NATO, AND IT CRITICIZED THE AMERICANS BY NAME IN THE PERSON OF "THE AMERICAN GENERAL" WHO SAID HE WOULD "NOT PERMIT" COMMUNISTS TO COME TO POWER "IN COUNTRIES SUCH AS OURS." IT MADE BOLD TO SPECIFY THOSE PARTS OF CPSU POLICY WHICH THE PCF ESPECIALLY APPROVES: THE WORLD NON-USE OF FORCE TREATY, PERFECTING ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT, AND WORKING OUT A NEW CONSTITUTION. IT WAS ALSO STRONG ON "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" BUT PLISSONNIER GAVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM A RATHER UNSAVORY TWIST, FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW, SINCE HE COUPLED IT EXPLICITLY AND "INSEPARABLY" WITH THE "PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE," AS THE TWIN BASES OF PCF-CPSU FRATERNITY AND SOLIDARITY. CONSEQUENTLY, THE MAIN STRESS OF THE SPEECH IS ON PARTY AUTONOMY, AND PLISSONNIER'S ASSURANCE THAT "DIVERGENCES BETWEEN

COMMUNIST PARTIES SHOULD NOT IN ANY WAY HINDER THE JOINT STRUGGLE FOR THE COMMON GOAL" (ACCORDING TO THE 1969 WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE) IS A FAR CRY FROM CUNHAL'S BRAND OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM. PLISSONNIER GOT ONE MORE OUTBURST OF DELEGATES' APPLAUSE (WITH FOUR) THAN BERLINGUER, BUT HE HAS BEEN THE ONLY EUROPEAN DELEGATE SO FAR WHOSE SPEECH HAS NOT ENDED WITH "STORMY, PROLONGED" APPLAUSE.

7. IBARRURI'S SPEECH WAS RATHER BLAND. IT EXPRESSED ENTHUSIASTIC ADMIRATION AND FRIENDSHIP FOR THE SOVIET PARTY AND NATION, AND MADE A NICE REFERENCE TO PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM. BUT IN GENERAL LA PASIONARIA STEERED CLEAR OF INTERNATIONAL CONTROVERSY AND STUCK CLOSELY TO HER SPANISH BRIEF, CALLED FOR A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT INCLUDING ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES, CLAIMED "ANTI-FASCIST UNITY" OF COMMUNISTS AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC FORCES IS ALREADY "A REALITY", AND HOPED THAT THE ACTION COORDINATION COMMITTEE OF THE TWO DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS WOULD SOON TURN INTO A "SINGLE ORGAN." THE SPEECH WAS STRIKING FOR THE FAVORABLE REFERENCES TO CATHOLICS, INCLUDING THE HIERARCHY, AND FOR THE OPTIMISTIC ASSESSMENT OF THE POSSIBILITIES FOR CHANGE IN SPAIN. PERHAPS BECAUSE OF ITS UNIQUE COMBINATION OF DOMESTICISM AND GRATITUDE (AND IBARRURI'S UNIQUE PLACE IN THE HEARTS OF EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS) IT WAS ALSO APPLAUDED NINE TIMES, STORMILY AT THE END.

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8. IBARRURI, HOWEVER, WAS THE FIFTH "SOUTHERN EUROPEAN" SPEAKER IN SUCCESSION--AFTER CEAUSESCU, DOLANC, BERLINGUER AND PLISSONNIER--TO OMIT ANY REFERENCE TO MAOISM OR THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CHINESE. IN A SPEECH TO A PARTY ORGANIZATION PRINTED IN PRAVDA FEBRUARY 29, AUSTRIAN CP CHAIRMAN FRANZ MUHRI RECOUPED A LITTLE BY ATTACKING MAOISM (AS A MINIFESTATION OF ANTI-COMMUNISM); BY DECLARING THAT FRIENDSHIP AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE USSR IS NOT ONLY AN "IMPORTANT CRITERION" OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM BUT SERVES THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF "OUR COUNTRY;" AND BY HAILING PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IN CONCLUSION. HE ALSO DREW TWO ROUNDS OF "PROLONGED APPLAUSE" FOR PERSONAL PRAISE OF BREZHNEV AND THE "DEEP RESPECT" HE HAS GAINED IN AUSTRIA NOT JUST AMONG COMMUNISTS BUT IN "BROAD LAYERS" OF THE POPULATION. BUT MUHRI ALSO INSISTED THAT SOCIALISM MEANS "BROAD FREEDOMS," PROCLAIMED AGREEMENT WITH BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT THAT "SOCIALISM IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT CONTINUOUS DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY," AND CAME DOWN HARD IN FAVOR OF COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST COOPERATION: "THE DECISIVE CONTRADICTION IS NOT BETWEEN SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS, AS RIGHT SOCIAL -DEMOCRATIC LEADERS AFFIRM IN THEIR PROPAGANDA, BUT BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND CAPITAL."

9. BELGIAN CP CHAIRMAN VAN GEYT DID EVEN WORSE: HE MENTIONED NEITHER BREZHNEV, THE CHINESE, NOR PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM; POSED A SERIES OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PROPER ROLE OF WESTERN COMMUNISTS IN CONDITIONS OF

DETENTE AND ECONOMIC CRISIS WHICH HE THEN LEFT UP TO HIS PARTY'S UPCOMING 22ND CONGRESS TO ANSWER, AND ENDED UP BY INSISTING ON THE DIFFERENT CONDITIONS OF STRUGGLE FOR THE BELGIAN CP AND THE CPSU, "WHICH RESULT IN THE FACT THAT WE SOMETIMES TAKE A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT APPROACH THAN YOU TO THIS OR THAT COMPLICATED QUESTION OF CONFIRMING OR DEFENDING SOCIALISM." LIKE PLISSONNIER HE WAS APPLAUDED ONLY FOUR TIMES.

10. GREEK CHAIRMAN FLORAKIS AND WEST BERLIN SED CHAIRMAN DANIELIUS WERE BETTER RECEIVED, FOR THEIR SPEECHES WERE STRONG FOR PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND AGAINST IMPERIALISM, AND MENTIONED BREZHNEV, ALTHOUGH DANIELIUS DID NOT ATTACK MAOISM, HE ATTACKED ANTI-SOVIETISM SO HARD AND SO OFTEN THAT THE PARTY ORGANIZATION LISTENING TO HIM GAVE HIM FOURTEEN ROUNDS OF APPLAUSE, ACCORDING TO PRAVDA. NORWEGIAN CHAIRMAN KNUSTEN AND SWEDISH LEFT COMMUNIST CONFIDENTIAL

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CHAIRMAN WERNER, ALSO PRINTED IN PRAVDA MARCH 1, WERE EVIDENTLY LESS INSPIRING. NEITHER MENTIONED BREZHNEV AND BOTH FAVORED PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, BUT KNUSTEN ATTACKED MAOISM, THANKED THE SOVIETS FOR LIBERATING NORTHERN NORWAY AND CALLED THE USSR THE MOST PROGRESSIVE SOCIETY IN THE WORLD AND THE MOST POWERFUL SOCIALIST COUNTRY, SO THAT HE GOT NINE ROUNDS OF APPLAUSE, WHILE WERNER OMITTED THE CHINESE AND MADE THE SAME NASTY LINKAGE BETWEEN PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND PARTY INDEPENDENCE WHICH HAD CHARACTERIZED PLISSONNIER'S SPEECH, SO THAT HE GOT ONLY FOUR, LIKE PLISSONNIER. IN FACT, HIS LANGUAGE ON THIS POINT WAS EVEN STRONGER: "EACH COMMUNIST PARTY, PROCEEDING FROM THE CONCRETE SITUATION AND HISTORICAL CONDITIONS IN ITS COUNTRY, AUTONOMOUSLY DEVELOPS ITS STRATEGY AND TACTICS. AS WE KNOW, THIS IS AN IMPORTANT PRECONDITION FOR MAKING PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AN EFFECTIVE WEAPON AGAINST IMPERIALISM."

11. COMMENT. ON BALANCE, IT APPEARS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE ENGAGED IN MODERN EQUIVALENT OF CANNING'S STRATEGY OF CALLING IN THE NEW WORLD TO REDRESS THE BALANCE IN THE OLD, BY TROTTING OUT A SERIES OF FAITHFUL CLIENTS, BEGINNING WITH CUNHAL, TO DEMONSTRATE THE FIDELITY SO CONSPICUOUSLY LACKING IN THE MAJOR SPEECHES FROM SOUTHERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS ON THE CONGRESS PODIUM. BUT IT IS IN FACT THE REVERSE OF CANNING'S STRATEGY, SINCE THE CAPTIVE GREEKS AND WEST BERLINERS REPRESENT AN OLD WORLD OF MONOLITHIC FIDELITY WHOSE TIME IS PAST, AND ARE NO MATCH FOR THE NEW WORLD OF DIVERSITY WHICH NOW CHARACTERIZES THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT BOTH WITHIN THE "SOCIALIST CAMP" AND OUTSIDE IT. THE SPEECHES OF THE LAST DAYS HAVE

DEMONSTRATED THAT THERE IS NO MORE UNITY OF VIEWS OUTSIDE, EITHER AMONG THE LARGE SOUTHER EUROPEAN PARTIES OR AMONG THE TINY NORTH EUROPEAN PARTIES, THAN THERE IS AMONG THE RULING PARTIES OF EASTERN EUROPE (MOSCOW'S 3071).

12. IN CONCLUSION, THREE COROLLARY POINTS MAY BE OF INTEREST. FIRST, THE DIVERSITY DISPLAYED AT THE CONGRESS PROBABLY BODES ILL FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE. THE PARTIES HAVE GONE ON THE PUBLIC RECORD WITH THEIR DIFFERING VIEWS ON QUESTIONS WHICH ARE STILL UNCONFIDENTIAL

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SETTLED, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT; THE CONGRESS MAY THUS HAVE MADE THE ROAD TO AN ECPC ROCKIER. SECOND, THERE IS NO NECESSARY CONNECTION BETWEEN PARTY "INDEPENDENCE" AND PARTY "LIBERALISM." PLISSONNIER'S SPEECH, FOR INSTANCE, WAS SCARCELY "LIBERAL," ALTHOUGH IT WAS INSISTENT ON PCF AUTONOMY. IT IS PERFECTLY POSSIBLE, WE THINK, THAT HARDLINING PARTIES MAY FIND INDEPENDENCE FROM THE CPSU AS ATTRACTIVE AS THE "DOVES" WITHIN THE MOVEMENT, ESPECIALLY WHEN CPSU TACTICS CALL FOR CONCESSIONS IN ECPC PREPARATIONS. IN SUCH CASES, THE CPSU MAY FIND ITS NATURAL ALLIES AMONG THE SO-CALLED "LIBERALS," LIKE THE PCI. IF THE SOVIETS ARE TO BE DEPRIVED OF THEIR HEGEMONIC ROLE (AND IT APPEARS THAT THEY ARE), THE NEXT BEST THING IS AFTER ALL THE ROLE OF ARBITER. IF THEY CANNOT BE THE POLICEMAN OF THE MOVEMENT, THEY MAY STILL HOPE TO BECOME ITS BROKER.

13. THE WIRE SERVICES HAVE JUST CARRIED THE REPORT THAT BREZHNEV, SUSLOV AND PONOMAREV MET MARCH 1 WITH BERLINGUER. WE WILL REPORT FURTHER AS INFORMATION BECOMES AVAILABLE, BUT IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE BALANCING ACT HAS BEGUN IN EARNEST.  
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